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ABSTRACT

A compilation of papers from a joint Finnish-Russian seminar on problems of communication research, this collection presents diverse opinions and results from researchers and observers in both countries. The titles of the papers and their authors are as follows: (1) "Mass Media in the Soviet Youth's Way of Life," by V. A. Mansurov; (2) "Cultural and Aesthetic Functions of the Mass Media" by V. S. Korobeinikov; (3) "The Study of Consciousness: Some Methodological Problems" by Antti Eskola; (4) "Measuring the Climate of Opinion" by Risto Sankiaho; (5) "Expansion of the Social Functions of Television in a Mature Socialist Society" by E. I. Bashkirova; (6) "Publicity and the Organization of Social Forces: Preliminary Suggestions for a Research Project" by Kauko Pietila; (7) "Realization of Feedback Principle in the Mass Media" by V. D. Voinova; (8) "Urbanization and Women in Wage Employment" by Marja Jarvela; (9) "Growth of Informational Needs of the Soviet Mass Media Audience" by I. V. Ladodo; and (10) "Social Interaction by Means of Mass Media" by E. G. Meshkova. (NKA)

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CITY - WAY OF LIFE - SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF MASS COMMUNICATION 19/1986

Report of the fourth Finnish-Soviet seminar

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V.A. Mansurov

MASS MEDIA IN THE SOVIET YOUTH'S WAY OF LIFE

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels said that the way in which people produce the means necessary for living implies not only reproduction of the physical existence of individuals, but also "and in a greater measure a definite way of activity of these individuals, their vital activity, their definite way of life".[1]

Way of life is in essence a combination of broad categories of activity, i.e. labour, socio-political, cultural, family and everyday life activities. People's way of life is determined by their activity, their actual behaviour.

The socialist way of life is one of the forms of vital activities which was established on the basis of socialist production relations and which represents an integrated unity of socially valuable types of activity. It follows from this that various types of activities interact within a way of life, and that all aspects of behaviour and activity are not equally significant for its characteristics.

The principles of the socialist Soviet way of life are being more and more firmly established in the minds of the Soviet people. A particularly important task is the establishment of these principles in the consciousness of the youth. This task is largely performed by our economic and political system itself, by the immediate social environment. This does not, however, release us from the responsibility to upbring the youth in the spirit of the socialist way of life.

A very important means of moulding ideas and spreading knowledge about our way of life, of propaganda, its principles and features, is the whole system of educational work and in particular the mass media.

When studying the place and role of mass media in the youth's way of life, numerous points have to be taken into account. First of all, attention must be paid to the complex structure of

the youth, within which we can distinguish different groups on the basis of class, socio-professional, educational and cultural characteristics. These characteristics determine group differences of elements of way of life within the youth as a whole. For example, labour is the main activity of the working youth. It is on this basis, under the influence of a body of working men, that world-outlooks and orientations, moral principles and relationships with other people, colleagues and society are shaped. Students acquire elements of way of life in a slightly different way, since their major activity is the acquisition of knowledge, preparation for their future life and career.

The next point of importance is the complex nature of mass media influence upon the consciousness and behaviour of the youth. The information sent out by the mass media draws the attention of their audience to problems and subjects that are most urgent from society's point of view, thus shaping information interests. Later on, these interests may develop into vital interests of the individual. The mass media influence all elements of the inner structure of personal emotions, moods and feelings; the contents of information influence our value system, and consequently have an impact on the formation of world-views. Through the satisfaction of our psychological needs for relaxation, the mass media use our wider psychological defence mechanisms to reduce stress and to channel negative emotions in the right direction. Using the various ways it can influence people's personality, the mass media can have both a direct and an indirect impact on the youth's behaviour. An important aspect of the mass media influence on the youth's way of life is the impact they have on the youth's pastime and leisure activities.

It is impossible in one report to consider all aspects of the complex interaction of mass media and the youth's way of life. This is why we have chosen for a more detailed analysis the problem of mass media influence on activities in the cultural

sphere of life as an element of people's way of life.

As can be clearly seen from the Soviet way of life, the problems (determined by the scientific and technological revolution) and contradictions of social progress under socialism, which have been distinctly outlined during the latter part of the 20th century, can be solved. And they can be solved efficiently, not by coercion over the majority, not to the detriment of man, his freedom, dignity and development, but on a scientific basis, in the interest of the working people, in the name of universal progress of society and man.

The active role of educational work in establishing and developing the socialist way of life and the place and significance of the mass media in this process can be considered from two aspects. On the one hand, educational, socio-political, and cognitive activity in itself forms an important part of the life of the members of socialist society. On the other hand, educational work is a factor that influences all other components of way of life, the totality of the needs and requirements of our society and the ways in which these requirements are satisfied.

The building of socialism and communism is naturally connected with cultural revolution, with raising the people's educational level, with the surpassing of the antithesis between mental and physical work, and the future elimination of the fundamental differences between the two, with greater intellectualization of production. The general expression of these processes is the rapid rise in the level of education of the Soviet people. Educational growth extends the cultural requirements of the masses and increases the significance of informational and cognitive activity in people's way of life. The mass production of cultural commodities and cultural and welfare facilities, and the provision of some of these goods and facilities free of charge or at a cut price ensure for practically all the people of the country a ready access to all forms of culture.

Statistics on press development are very indicative in this respect. During the period 1918-1974, a total of 2.7 million books were published and 43 billion copies printed, most of which in the late 1950s or later. If we consider the future of printed matter, there should not be cause for serious concern: according to the same statistics, there are 100 books for every citizen over 9 years of age. The number is now increasing rapidly: during the past ten years the number of books published annually has been 6 or 7 per every citizen. While the population over 9 years is just over 200 million, a single newspaper edition numbers 165 million copies. A single edition of a magazine reaches approximately the same level.

Nowadays it is impossible to imagine the Soviet man without his newspapers, magazines, TV and radio; without him going to the cinema, museums, sports events, theatres and exhibitions. All this has become an integral part of his life, an important material basis of his everyday cultural life.

On average, every family subscribes to more than four newspapers and magazines. Every Soviet citizen goes to the cinema an average 20 times per year. Every second urban inhabitant goes to the library. According to sample surveys 50% - 70% of the urban population read books regularly.

In recent years television has started to play a central role alongside the press in the creation of the material basis for cultural development. In this respect television is today just as important as books, magazines and newspapers.

On average 75% of the population watch TV regularly; of the population living within coverage areas, about 95% watch it regularly. People spend a considerable part of their free time watching TV: according to time budget studies, the working urban population spend 7-10 hours a week watching TV. This is more than the time they spend reading newspapers and books and at the cinema and theatre taken together. In quantitative terms television has thus become a principal source of everyday cultural information. On the whole, people spend one third of

their free time obtaining information necessary for their vital activity.

Surveys have shown already some time ago that the Soviet youth use more popular scientific information from more numerous fields than older people. The explanation lies in the fact that the young man, who lacks social experiences and is partly aware of it, wants to make up for this lack by acquiring informations and experiences common to mankind.

According to our data,[2] newspapers, magazines, radio and telecasts attract great attention among the youth: from 85% up to 99% of the young people (depending on age, social and occupational group) use 2-4 mass media regularly, that is, not less than 1-2 times a week.

A survey conducted in Leningrad showed that a young person prefers to learn about politics and economic issues from newspapers and about science and technology from magazines[3].

The above data show that young people use all means of mass information intensively. Their requirements and interests vary with age, socio-occupational characteristics, class interests, and level of education. For example, young people with incomplete secondary education or higher education consider the main advantage of television to lie in the fact that it helps them to widen their horizon in all fields of knowledge. Television exercises its cognitive function primarily on students, young intellectuals, employees; its utilitarian-consuming function on young workers, school children and technical secondary school students.

No matter how great the significance of television, in socialist society it should not - nor has it - become an idol, devouring leisure and suppressing other forms of cultural life, an idol to which TV is frequently converted under capitalism due to the spontaneous development of mass media. Indeed, even in our country the breakthrough of television took away time from other everyday activities. However, one should bear in mind that TV-viewing increases in many cases not at the expense of

cultural pastime, but as a result of reducing inactive rest.

As for reading and cultural events, these valuable activities were not supplanted by television. There was a certain redistribution of time (for instance, the weekly reading of books reduced by half an hour), which leads to a leisure structure where TV-viewing is combined with other forms of cultural and informational activities.

A planned socialist reconstruction of the everyday life set-up does not just ensure a growth of the significance of mass media, but also benefits the development of a comprehensive and varied cultural life.

In bourgeois society the uncontrolled expansion of television has suppressed book-reading, notwithstanding the absolute growth of the educational level of the population. It is then quite natural that nowadays the Soviet people are the most frequent readers among the peoples of the world. An international comparative study of time budgets showed that the Soviet people spend 1.5 - 2 times more time in reading than the Americans, the West Germans and the French, who spent more time watching TV. A more balanced relation of book-reading to TV-viewing is a definite advantage of the cultural life of the Soviet people, one of the achievements of the Soviet way of life.

The fact that the expansion of television is not accompanied by a sharp decrease in people's interest in the cinema has the same social background. Over the 15-year period (1960-1974) of television's rapid growth in the USSR, the annual number of visits to the cinema decreased from 22% to 18% per capita. In the USA, during a period of ten years (1950-1960), the peak years of TV's growth in America, the corresponding index went down from 21% to 12%.

Disregarding some redistribution of time in favour of television, as a whole the development of cultural life is characterized by a fuller harmony, while the everyday life as an element of the socialist way of life is reaching higher perfection.

This trend is clear from the spread of more complex forms of culture consumption. While the frequency of cinema visits decreased because of the coming of television, the frequency of visits to the theatre, concerts, museums and exhibitions increased during the same period of time. The frequency of visits to theatres and concerts per 1000 inhabitants increased from 420-430 in the 1950s to 460-465 by the beginning of the 1970's. The frequency of visits to museums grew from 170-180 in 1940 to 470 in 1973. In the future, judged on the basis of present tendencies, theatre performances, concerts, and exhibitions will further strengthen their place among a number of other everyday activities of the majority of the USSR population, as will the cinema and library, too.

Compared with culture consumption in capitalist countries, these facts are very illuminating. According to French scholars, in 1970 a total of 58% of the French did not read books at all, 87% did not go to the theatre, 78% of the population aged 15-26 did not go to concerts, 75% of the workers and 82% of the peasants did not read books, only one worker out of a hundred went to the theatre, and four workers out of a hundred went to museums.[4]

In conclusion I shall shortly describe the way in which the needs and interests of the youth as an audience are taken into account in our country. The Young Communist League (the Komsomol) alone publishes 234 newspapers and magazines for children, teenagers and the youth, which add up to a total of 76 million printed copies. 149 radio and 125 TV editorial boards broadcast programmes for the youth. In addition to so-called general information, these media broadcast specialized information that satisfies the interests of various youth groups. Newspapers and magazines constantly publish subject type pages, such as "Alye Parusa" (The purple sail) for teenagers, "Sverstnik" (Contemporary), and "Odnokursnik" (Student) for students. They publish (under special headings) material addressed to workers, the rural youth, and the young

intelligentsia.

The questions sent to editorial boards by young people are answered in numerous programmes. The press, radio and television keep in constant contact with their young audience.

All this testifies to the fact that mass media have become an integral part of the Soviet youth's way of life, and that they exert a considerable impact on moulding and developing this way of life.

Notes

[1]Marx, K. & Engels, F. Collected Works, vol. 3, 19.

[2]Mansurov V.A., Podsevatkina G.A. Social Portrait of a Young Man. Moscow, 1978, 11.

[3]Propaganda and Youth. Moscow, 1981, 169.

[4]Propaganda and Youth. Moscow, 1981, 136.

V.S. Korobeinikov

CULTURAL AND AESTHETIC FUNCTIONS OF THE MASS MEDIA

A mass media system, as one sub-system of society, does not only work for a given society, but also reflects its main regularities and trends in development.

Soviet society has entered a stage of development whose aim is the comprehensive perfection of mature socialism, the enrichment of the spiritual life of the Soviet people. This process provides objective premises for the further development of the cultural and aesthetic functions of the mass media. It is conditioned by an increased cultural potential of the whole society, and also by a removal of socio-regional differences in levels of cultural development. In particular, the expansion of these functions contributes to the removal of cultural differences between urban and rural areas by promoting interaction of urban and rural cultural traditions. The city tends to generate culture in the form of artistic mastery, while the rural districts are more a source of folk art, of local cultural and aesthetic traditions.

The cultural and aesthetic potential of the mass media is as yet far from fully understood. The press, cinema, radio and television play an important role in preserving, spreading and exchanging cultural values and norms, but the mass media are also producers of the material basis of the latter. However, this activity of the mass media is not a self-sufficient one. It is conditioned by the regularities of the society concerned, by the specific features of its stage of development.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has emancipated millions of people from spiritual stagnation. Clara Zetkin cites the following words of V.I. Lenin: "There we have the most important achievement of the cultural revolution since power has passed to the working people, that is awakening, striving of masses for culture".[1] Increasing the cultural activity of the broad masses served as the main basis for the extensive

development of the cultural and aesthetic functions of the Soviet mass media. Radio is a good example. In the 1920s Soviet radio paid particular attention to the propaganda of folk songs and music, which at that time were the elements of culture most readily available to the listeners. In 1925, for instance, series of so-called ethnographic concerts (where folk music of Soviet and other peoples was played) were broadcast on music programmes. In the autumn and winter seasons of 1925-1926 alone, Soviet radio broadcast folk art of 20 nationalities of the USSR and of 16 peoples of the West Europe.

In addition, radio was constantly transmitting lecture concerts, conducted by famous composers and professors of the Moscow conservatory. Transmission of operas and ballets as well as of symphony concerts, playing Russian and foreign classical music, and of choral singing concerts became a major form of aesthetic education of the masses. Literary and drama broadcasts also promoted the spiritual development of radio listeners. The perspectives opened by radio under socialism fascinated leading writers, poets and playwrights.

Thus already in the early years of Soviet power it was proved that socialism uses mass media for the development of artistic tastes of the working people, for the spiritual enrichment of the people and for encouraging creative activity.

As our socialist society developed, the press, cinema, radio and television took on an important role in the spreading and making of culture. In mature socialist society, they have became an important element in the process of creating and spreading an integrated nationwide democratic culture. During a period extending over almost 70 years, a Soviet socialist culture, integral in its spirit and main contents, has been created in this country. This culture comprises the most valuable features and traditions of the cultures and modes of life of every people of the country. At the same time, each Soviet national culture draws strength not only from its own "fountainhead", but also from the rich spiritual sources of other fraternal peoples; and

this in turn has a favourable impact on the latter. This favourable impact is also due to the mass media, which ensure the exchange of cultural values of various Union republics on a national scale. The enrichment of the socialist culture is exercised both "horizontally" (through integration of the cultural elements of various peoples and nationalities) and "vertically". "The vertical" influence presupposes adaptation of progressive elements of cultural heritage, the development of socialist culture on the basis of the golden fund of world cultural values.

The fostering of artistic orientations and aesthetic tastes is part and parcel of the process of moulding a new man. As we know, the conditions prevailing in developed socialism contribute to cultural development among the people. This process, which is guided by the Communist Party, is reflected even in the structure of the mass media.

For example, in the USSR books have a very stable position among other mass media, whereas in most of Western Europe and North America this is not the case. This can be explained above all by the constant rise in the cultural and educational level of the Soviet population. The all-union survey of the urban population in 1976 on the theme "The place of books in the system of mass media" (the survey comprised almost 700 cities and workers' settlements of the USSR) showed that books rank second after newspapers in terms of frequency of usage rates.

It was found that books were read most by respondents under 25 years of age. This is due their need and want for knowledge that helps them to realize their plans for life and also to shape their personality.

The popularity of books naturally places great demands on publishing houses. By the 1970s they completed the publication of a 200-volume "Library of World Literature", and started work on "Library of Classic Literature", a 50-volume "Library of World Literature for Children", collected works of many Soviet and foreign writers.

Although more than 9 billion books and pamphlets were published in the Soviet Union during the five-year period 1976-1980, the demand for books has continued to increase. This means that publishing houses have to spend a lot of their time perfecting subjects and themes plans, on editorial policy, and on the coordination of various types of publications. These problems are now being solved by means of an automatic planning and coordination system, which will prevent double printing and the publication of unimportant books.

The moulding of the individual whose basic attitude towards culture and towards the arts in particular is active, is by no means a spontaneous process. The shaping of culture, artistic orientations, aesthetic tastes is part and parcel of the moulding of a new man. One of the primary tasks of the Soviet mass media is the spreading of materials that would make Soviet people spiritually richer, would immunize them to poor tastes and shallowness. Here, the activities of Soviet television is a good example. Central TV alone transmits weekly many kinds of cultural and aesthetic programmes. Among them are the following: "World folk arts", "Raduga" (The Rainbow) - these are the folk arts broadcasts - "Talk about painters and artists", "Literary Readings", "A word on music", "Music kiosk", "Poetry", etc. TV-viewers can also watch film versions of literary works, TV films and performances, ballets and operas.

Sociological data shows that the audience makes frequent use of these possibilities. For instance, the survey which we conducted in 1981 in the town of Vitebsk (Byelorussia) - a typical average town of the USSR - showed that 72% of the population listen to or watch artistic programmes such as "The mike is in the theatre", "Music kiosk", feature films, TV-films, performances and so forth a few times a week. The audience is slightly smaller than the audience of the most popular information telecasts.

It was noted that among cultural and aesthetic telecasts, the most successful were those having entertaining elements. This

cannot be overlooked. It is not by chance that sociologists from the German Democratic Republic warn us of the condescension or sometimes even negative attitude towards the entertaining side of the mass media. The German specialists are right in saying that the people can and should also be educated by entertaining them, for the moulding of the individual can most effectively be carried out by and through the means he is most willing to accept.

The whole socialist set-up is opposed to reducing entertainment to trivial amusement. The liberation of the mass media from the power of money has a positive effect upon the fulfillment of all its functions, including cultural, aesthetic and entertaining tasks. The requirements of man's cultural growth and his spiritual development always have priority over the financial interests of the press, radio and television, although the latter are of course also taken into account. At this point mention may be made of the criticism that the Soviet public expressed in a number of Soviet newspapers when some cinema managers put on thrillers under any pretext to meet their financial targets. Thrillers, it was argued, do not contribute to the cause of education, especially the education of the youth; too much is too much. Material loss cannot be put on a par with moral loss, with the damage caused to spiritual enrichment.

It is noteworthy that this point of view coincides with the preferences of the audience. The most active and conscious part of the audience prefers films which provide fuel for thoughts and feelings to often empty thrillers. This statement has more than once been proved by Soviet sociologists. Sociologists from the Urals came to the following conclusion already in the late 1960s: the basic trend in development of aesthetic consciousness in our society is that the Soviet people's demands towards art are growing, their spiritual requirements and interests are becoming more varied, and their attitude to shallow themes, to the lack of progressive ideas, to light-mindedness and banality

are growing more and more irreconcilable.

The surveys of Soviet sociologists show that the prestige of television among the audience (for instance among the working people) is highest when it is viewed as a source of socio-political information.

Television is widely held as a means of pastime, recreation, entertainment. This is consistent with the audience's high regard for television as a means of aesthetic development. According to a survey in the early 1970s, 46.6% of the working people were of the opinion that telecasts on arts give enjoyable aesthetic experiences, and 33.9% said that "TV helps them better to understand art and great artists".[2]

Under socialism the mass media are not only a potent channel of satisfying the cultural and aesthetic needs of various social groups and strata, but they also have their impact upon everyday culture. Soviet specialists have noticed that TV competitions, quizzes, and gathersings are viable if the authors take into account the urgent requirements of society, if they seek, find and foster new rituals and customs.

In the 1980s the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been paying particular attention to propagating cultural values through the mass media. It was pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of June 14-15, 1983 that the TV viewer wants more feature films of good taste and more entertaining programmes. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to make really interesting programmes. But this is nevertheless the only way to the heart and soul of TV viewers.[3]

The development of cultural and aesthetic functions of the Soviet mass media are also stimulated by favourable financial provisions. A quarter of a century ago (in 1960) the USSR adopted a resolution according to which theatre performances, films, concerts, circus performances and other open entertainments were to be televised without special payment.[4] The same rule applies to radio broadcasting.

Thus, in Soviet society, currently working on

the comprehensive perfection of mature socialism, many objective and subjective prerequisites are developing for the further growth of the importance of the mass media's cultural and aesthetic functions.

Notes

[1]Memoirs about V.I. Lenin. Vol. 2, Moscow, 1957, p. 499 (in Russian).

[2]The Spiritual World of a Soviet Worker. Moscow 1972, p. 374-375. (In Russian)

[3]Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. June 14-15, 1983, Moscow, 1983, p. 47.

[4]The CPSU on the Mass Media and Propaganda, Moscow, 1979, p. 523.

Antti Eskola

THE STUDY OF CONSCIOUSNESS: SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

In the Western tradition of mass communication research collective consciousness is often understood as equivalent to the "public opinion". It follows, from this equation, that the scientist will primarily be concerned with people's choices or decisions, and ask questions like "Who are you going to vote for in the next elections?", "How do you feel about nuclear power?", and so on. The respondent's answer to the latter question will also be regarded as a decision, reached after weighing opposing arguments.

Opinion polls of this kind rarely care very much about what must have preceded the actual decision, opinion, or choice: the weighing of several different possibilities and arguments. The results of such a poll may lead to misinterpretations. For example, if it is reported that 50 % of a given population is pro nuclear power and 50 % anti nuclear power, at least the poll-reading general public will be inclined to interpret this as proof that this population is socially divided over the issue of nuclear power.

But as a matter of fact this is not necessarily the case. It is quite possible that every respondent has thought of reasonable arguments both for and against nuclear power. So when the scientist comes up and presses him for an opinion, he has to make up his mind at random; and if this is the case with all the respondents, the poll reports will show a 50-50 distribution (or thereabouts) for the whole population. What this result means is not, however, that there is a social contradiction within the population, but a contradiction in the consciousness of each of its members. (Coleman 1964, 381-383.) In other words, to get a secure foundation for our interpretations we need to know not only the percentage distributions of opinions, but also to what extent the distribution reflects a social conflict and to what extent contradictions in consciousness.

2.

There is another reason why it is important to be aware of those possibilities and arguments that the respondent considered in making his decision. Opinions, choices and decisions are not static, nor can people be pigeonholed for good on the basis of one questionnaire at one point of time. The possibilities that the respondent thought over but rejected, the arguments that he weighed but dared not rely on may contain a powerful dynamic element. Some of the possibilities and arguments represent tendencies that will step aside in the course of historical development, others represent strengthening tendencies.

For instance, if I were asked right now, in an opinion poll, whether I would trade in my old typewriter for a small word processor, I would probably say no. I am not the least interested in learning how to use yet another technical appliance. I manage perfectly well with what I have.

But although my answer will go down in the no-column, I can already imagine a possible situation where I might opt for the word processor. I have been thinking about the matter, and have a few good arguments that most likely will gain in weight in step with the development of computers and their winning march in society. In this respect I am a very different kind of respondent than he who has absolutely no use of such a thing as a word processor and cannot even imagine a situation where he might need one.

Hoping to uncover part of these concealed elements indicating the future course of opinions and decisions, I have done some research with a methodology known as "passive role-playing". The idea is that the respondents are given a "script" that describes some situation. They are asked to enter into the spirit of the situation and write a short story of how this situation will continue. Another script variant is one that depicts a future situation, where the respondents are again to imagine themselves in that situation and to write about what must have happened before this situation. The logic of experimental research can be

made use of in this method by systematically varying some elements in the scripts (such as the time of the event described, the relations between the story characters, etc.) and by observing how these changes affect the stories written by the subjects. We have applied the method both in studying the conditions of drinking in Finland (Eskola 1984a) and people's ideas of dangers threatening the world today (Eskola 1984c). Also, I have used the results from these studies as a heuristic tool in predicting the development of psychology in the 1990s (Eskola 1984b).

3.

Communication researchers who remain captive of statistics may fail to see the importance of things that are possible but highly unlikely. If so, they will also be ignorant of some of the very basics of human consciousness and action.

Why, for instance, do hundreds of thousands of Finns play lotto every week? It is not that they do not understand statistics. Most of them know perfectly well that the odds of striking lucky are small indeed. But they also know this: if I fill in the coupon I always have the chance of winning; and that means I am also allowed to dream about winning. If I don't play at all then I have no such chances. Psychologically, this makes all the difference.

Kurt Lewin, a social psychologist, understood this difference. He said that the value of the goal (V) (which determines the course of action) is equal to the value of attaining that goal (E) multiplied by the probability of attaining the goal (P), or:

$$V = P \times E$$

Even if the multiplier were small, the product is large if the multiplicand is very big. It is worth while setting up the playing of lotto as one's goal (i.e. V is large enough to make the decision) because the value of striking lucky (E) is very

high indeed; despite the low probability (P) of attaining this goal. The same idea is found in a Finnish proverb: "Trout is so valuable a catch that it is worth the effort even if you never hook one".

The same applies where the realization of a possibility has a huge negative valence. It is a threatening one even if the probability of it coming true were extremely low - provided however that it is not zero, that this negative thing is at least possible. This means that it cannot be completely ignored by our consciousness.

For example, it is highly unlikely that a nuclear reactor will explode, but nonetheless it is possible. It is like a dangerous giant locked up behind the bars; but even if we could be sure that the giant can never get loose, it is still there, it definitely exists. The days before it existed were idyllic days, compared to what things are like today. This is a crucial difference that cannot be reversed by saying that this or that probability is low. Hope and fear have their own logic, a logic that communication researchers too should learn to understand and take into account in their studies.

4.

As mentioned, it is typical of public opinion researchers to concern themselves exclusively with people's choices and decisions. The possible hopes and the possible fears and threats surrounding these people - the context within which they make their decisions - is then largely missed. And yet this context is also very important; the impact of the mass media on this context may in fact be even greater than on what people actually decide to do.

Let us take anxiety as an example. In the western industrialized world anxiety has arisen largely out of requirements that people, in the name of a "better future", refrain from different things, discipline or suppress their

immediate impulses. But today a new kind of anxiety is developing. It is generated less by the self-denial required by society and culture than by people's fears that this is in vain: that man is doomed to extermination by nuclear war, pollution or some other threat posed by human civilization.

We may illustrate the difference between the two forms of anxiety by Ernst Bloch's concept "not-yet". It refers to something that "as yet is unsure and unsolved, but that for this reason is not out of the world". In Finland, for instance, "not-yet" used to be something that for many aroused hope; for instance: not-yet socialism, not-yet just society... this is why it is necessary to fight and to accept self-denial that causes anxiety. Now, "not-yet" is turning into things like not-yet nuclear war, not-yet dead forests... but these things are still not "out of the world", but give rise to a kind of anxiety that differs from the one that was caused by self-denial. We behave and make decisions as we did before, but every decision is now made in a context that from the anxiety point of view is new.

Anxiety and the development of manifestations of anxiety is just an example, however - and as such open to controversy. What I have wanted to point out is that mere possibilities apparently unlikely to ever come true and, on the other hand, extensive not-yet perspectives forming the general context of hopes and threats within which decisions are made and action takes place may be important from the viewpoint of consciousness. I have also wanted to mention briefly those new methods (passive role-playing) that may prove more useful than the traditional measurement of public opinion in analyzing these phenomena.

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Risto Sänkiaho

MEASURING THE CLIMATE OF OPINION

Technical facilities

Although they are not of primary importance, technical facilities nevertheless provide the whole basis for measuring and interpreting public opinion. Without a capable and efficient organization, data cannot be collected in the field, which would make it impossible to substantiate the various sophisticated models, theories and frames of reference that may have been suggested.

Sampling techniques have developed in recent years following the introduction of computer-based registers. Now, it is easy - although in some countries also fairly expensive - to take a workable sample of the whole population of a country. In Finland, for instance, a representative estimate of the distribution of opinions among the entire population can be built up on the basis of 1500-2000 interviews.

Interview techniques have also been making significant advances. There has been a general move away from the questionnaire in favour of the interview, with a further shift from face-to-face interviewing to the use of the telephone. Of course, there must be a high proportion of telephone subscribers in the society in question before this latter step can be taken. From the economic and organizational viewpoint, telephone interviewing certainly comes out best when compared with the other methods.

Validity and reliability

The validity and reliability of some of the measures that are being used have by now been tested in numerous studies. As a result a number of standards have been produced, which, when repeated, give a highly accurate picture of the climate of opinion at that particular time. An example of this kind of

standard are the items used to measure political alienation. Unfortunately, these measures and the related social phenomena are altered by changing social conditions; therefore, an occasional revision of the measures is necessary.

Problems of validity and reliability take on a more concrete form as research projects develop; the quality of the solutions found improves with increasing experience. Unfortunately, in terms of certain measures, validity and reliability are sometimes assumed to remain unchanged between different time periods, when in fact this does not always happen.

Factors influencing the climate of opinion

Press and mass communication

Mass communication has a significant influence on the climate of opinion. Therefore research should also concern itself with the content of the press and mass media, the power structures related to the dissemination of information, and other means of exercising influence at the disposal of these institutions. The frames of reference applied in the study of mass communication are indeed particularly varied. An extremely important one in the western world is a market-based method whereby the duration of use is studied for each type of media along with the relevant audience, the primary aim being to identify markets. Mass communication can also be seen as a social activity, with the sources and receivers of information as participants. The third approach involves the use of psychological methods; the problem is often studied from a psychoanalytical frame of reference, even though it is more social than psychological in character.

It is not unknown for the mass media to make mistakes while directing the climate of opinion, for public opinion and attitudes may be completely at variance with what is reported in the main newspapers and on radio and television. Examples of this effect in Finland have been attitudes to the proposed fifth nuclear power station and public opinion during the last

presidential elections. In both cases the opinion of the people was more clearly revealed by analyzing readers' letters to editors by than by studying editorials.

Mass organizations and pressure groups

Mass organizations exercise a considerable influence on the general climate of opinion, especially via their members. Pressure groups - economic pressure groups in particular - attempt to exercise a great deal of influence on the general climate of opinion via the content of mass communications. In Finland the mass organizations and their internal climate of opinion have been the subject of extensive research during the last few years. Interest in this particular field of research has been aroused by the change in the structure of society, which has been reflected in the power structure with a partial swing from orthodox parliamentarianism to corporatism.

When the internal decision-making and organizational structures of different countries are being studied, research should focus on the internal climate of opinion within the mass organizations rather than merely on the average predilection of the whole population for some particular matter; this is because it is very rare, if ever, that matters are decided by referendum. Instead the decision-making process takes place with the involvement of certain mass organizations. Therefore it is not the average opinion that is important, but the opinion prevailing within each significant mass organization.

What is measured?

There are different components in human behaviour; for example, affective, cognitive and functional components. The affective component can possibly best be illustrated by attitudes, which are technically easy to measure. Measurement of attitudes generally yields valid and reliable results, although the great difference between the level of attitudes and actual behaviour

is problematic. In general attitudes are more intense than actual behaviour.

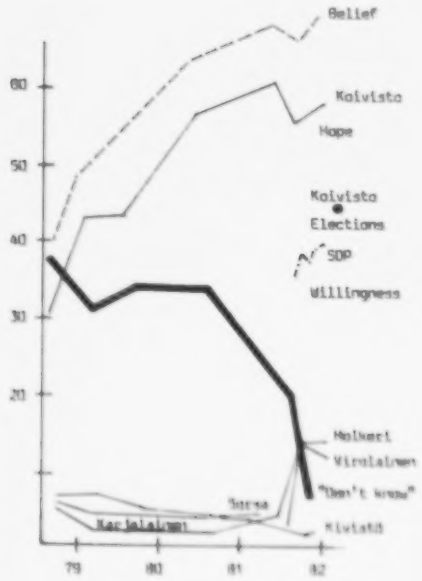
The cognitive component can be divided between the specific level of knowledge and, on the other hand, aims and motives, which, based as they are on certain patterns of rational human behaviour, are related to goals and methods. The study of these goals, aims and motives is fairly problematic in that aims and methods vary considerably from one individual to the next, and these variations cannot be described as successfully as attitudes on a limited range of dimensions.

The functional component generally represents the study of actual behaviour; as such it is extremely problematic. Usually, a combination of different types of questions is required to reveal the actual degree of a given type of behaviour (e.g. the study of alcohol behaviour). Also it must not be forgotten that, in the course of time, the activity varies in terms of type, quantity, intensity and other factors. In Finland for instance, the general development of the population from subject to citizen was measured exclusively in terms of conventional political participation, until it was noticed in the 1960s that protest was emerging as a new type of influence in political activity. In the mid-1970s the correlation of protest with conventional political participation was still primarily a characteristic of the left, but now the link can also be observed among groups supporting the parties of the right - with the latest wave of strikes being an instance of this phenomenon.

The last presidential elections can be used as an example of the significance of these different levels. Before the elections the general climate of opinion was subject to extensive study. The Koivisto phenomenon can be divided into three aspects: belief (attitude), hope (motive) and willingness (activity = vote for the SDP electoral candidates). The other parties believed (or hoped) that support for Koivisto would collapse following the nomination of their own candidates, which did actually appear to be happening immediately after the parties'

selection of their candidates (Figure 1). For its own part, the SDP concentrated its efforts on nurturing belief and hope, since it was considered that this would also maintain willingness and, in this extremely unusual political situation, would activate those voters who had not disclosed their voting preferences.

Figure 1. Presidential election: support for candidates (Gallup)



—— Which candidate would you support to be the next president?
– – – Do you believe Koivisto will be elected?
—·— Which electoral candidates will you vote for?
▬▬ "Don't know"

Results and theory

Measuring the climate of opinion very often involves nothing more than building data banks of social information. The data is then primarily utilized in empirical studies, but attempts are also made to link it to theoretical frames of reference. Unfortunately measuring work is often carried out on the basis of methodology dictated by practical considerations rather than consciously worked out from a specific theoretical frame of reference. This means that the systematic utilization of the data for theoretical purposes is forgotten. It can even be stated that the social sciences in Finland have to a large extent drifted into a situation where those who use data in a particularly superficial way are completely isolated from theory-orientated researchers. It must of course be admitted that underlying the empirical tradition there is a kind of logical-positivist concept of science, on the basis of which it is trying to develop its own research.

Strategies

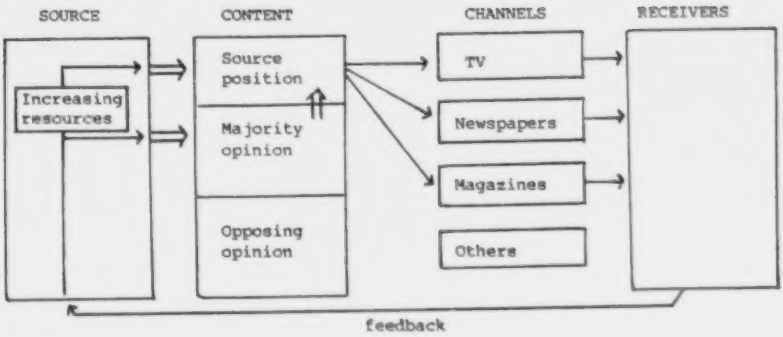
The most commonly used strategies in the measurement of public opinion can be divided into three classes: market research, opinion formation and action strategies. Market research strategy generally means the marketing of goods or ideas and opinions to the general public. The organization carrying out the strategy attempts to strengthen its own position primarily by increasing the number of channels of influence or by increasing the resources, in order to increase the total number of messages (Figure 2).

The feedback effect takes place when a majority opinion is combined with the organization's (i.e. the information source's) own position, which means that goods or ideas are marketed together with some generally accepted life-style.

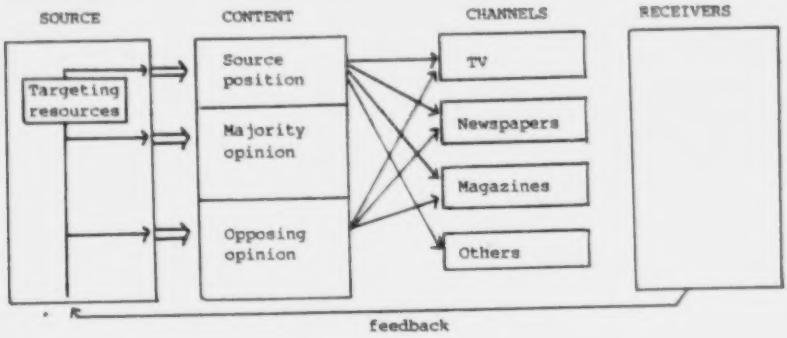
Opinion formation works to a great extent in the same way as the market research strategy. The objective is to influence the

Figure 2. Strategies

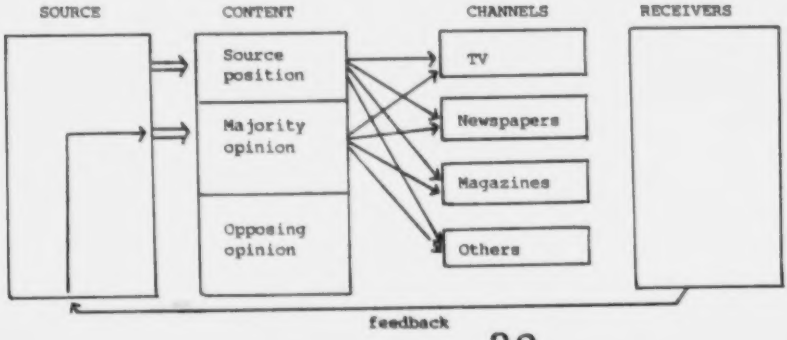
A. Market research strategy



B. Opinion formation



C. Action strategy



opinions of certain people and target groups and also to identify the channels and subjects which can be used to get the information source's own opinion into the position of majority opinion. Opinion formation sometimes involves marketing opposing views; this strategy is used if research reveals that the opposing view enjoys only very limited support. The source uses this wider strategy in an attempt to bring the majority opinion round behind its own position.

Action strategy involves attempting to make the receivers act in a certain way, which is in accordance with the source's own position. This strategy can only be applied in situations where the source's own position is also the majority opinion, and this is then maintained and strengthened by all available methods.

There are vast differences between these strategies in terms of question patterns, data utilization and subsequent use of data in directing new types of information policies. However these strategies cannot be considered as being completely independent of each other; attempts to influence the general climate of opinion very often use a combination of two or even three different strategies.

E.I. Bashkirova

EXPANSION OF THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF TELEVISION IN A MATURE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Television plays an important role in the life of a society. Many scholars - sociologists, journalists and art critics - even speak of the infinite possibilities of television. TV technology is constantly developing and reaching higher perfection. New solutions are appearing that not so long ago seemed impossible: flat TV screens based on fundamentally new principles of imaging, first experiments in the field of stereoscopic television, new steps in perfecting stereoscopic cinema combined with multichannel stereophony, holographic cinema, portable audio-visual devices, etc. All of these electronic achievements are opening or will open in the very near future great possibilities and give ready access to a vast body of information in all branches of knowledge, to artistic and cultural values.

According to recent data there is regular telecasting in 138 countries. The total number of TV sets at the disposal of the world's population is more than 500 million. The world's TV audience numbers 2.5 billion persons.[1]

In the Soviet Union mass TV broadcasts were gradually started during the 1960s and 1970s. This was one of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. By 1981 the number of TV sets in the country had reached 75 million. At present the Soviet Union ranks second in the world after the USA in television potential. By the mid-70s an integrated television network had been created in the USSR, providing for transmission of Central television (CTV) broadcasts over a great part (85%) of Soviet territory.[2] The mass adoption of colour TV is clear proof of the qualitative perfection of Soviet television.

The coming of television changed the life of the Soviet man in many ways; it raised his level of information, enriched him spiritually, influenced his pastime. Now, television has become

an instrument that has a major impact not only on the audience or individual TV viewers, but that also has the power to shape and change social processes.

The growth of television has given it an established position in the system of social control. Using its potential to address vast audiences at a time, television plays the role of propagandist and agitator who translates information from governmental bodies to TV viewers and tells them about party politics, its strategtic and tactical goals. Under socialism, the significance of a social control function, thus fulfilled by television, is in the stimulation of the social activity of masses, in converting an object of propaganda into its subject. Television takes part in this process by providing people with information about all major political events in the country. For instance, Central television constantly informed the public about discussions on the drafts for the new Constitution of the USSR, the Guidelines for Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985, Guidelines for a secondary school reform, and also the wishes and advice presented by the public in the course of the discussion.

Television, like the other mass media, is not only a transmitter of information from governmental bodies to the masses, but also a tribune of public opinion. Using the mechanism of feed-back, television exposes difficulties and failures that arise in the course of implementing certain laws, resolutions, or important decisions. Thus television becomes part of governmental control, as it constantly informs people about the fulfillment of major tasks and influences the system of social control itself.

Until quite recently newspapers were the most popular means of information. According to polls conducted in the 1970s in various regions of our country, newspapers ranked highest in frequency of usage rates, television was second and radio third. Recent polls show that television has now become the leading mass medium in terms of both audience size and frequency of

usage rates.[3]

This does not however mean that people would have lost their interest in newspaper information, even though there has been a redistribution of time between the different mass media. Researchers have recorded an unabated interest in socially valuable newspaper materials, in particular in articles about international political events. The impact of television on press is reflected in a redistribution of functions. Television has taken over certain functions of the press, as for instance prompt coverage of current problems. As in TV information programmes, reports are accompanied by visual "pictures", which strengthen the credibility and emotional persuasiveness of the information. Indeed, television is better placed when it comes to profound emotional and psychological treatment of the subject: it can better display the inner world of the working man man, the motives of his social activity. Newspapers, in turn, pay more attention strictly to the information, to commenting events, to the analysis of various sides of social development.

Television, the press and radio are not competitors in socialism; they support each other. Television, for example, through the new standards it has set in promptness, expressiveness, and distinctness, stimulates creative activity in newspapers' editorial rooms. The ability of television to make viewers eyewitnesses of political, cultural, sports and other events creates new problems for the editorial board staffs. How, for example, should they inform newspaper readers about an event they have already learned about through television the evening before? Television journalists are of course faced with the same problem: how to report on events already covered by the press?

This close mutual interaction of TV and the press has resulted in an organization of newspaper work, a genre structure which basically resembles that of the newspaper: in-depth analysis of various aspects of social life (political, economic,

social, cultural, etc.), quotations of statistics, comprehensive reporting on home and foreign events.

While the interaction of TV and the press was from the very outset characterized by mutual complementation rather than competition, the relation between TV and radio developed in a slightly different way. When television broadcasts started, the leading role of radio as a social instution that kept up a close link between the state bodies and the people was reduced to a certain extent, as television adopted the same function. The same tendencies can be observed in some other socialist countries[4]; clearly, they are the result of the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on mass information processes, a result of the great communicative power of TV, of its incontestable advantages. Radio has not, however, been completely superseded by television. It still has a very important role in our soiety.

Radio and television have a lot in common. They are faster media than the newspaper. They bring about "an effect of presence", give the audience "first-hand" information, reproduce the emotions of a speaker, the reactions of participants in meetings, gatherings, theatre performances, sports events, etc. Radio and TV can transmit things that are happening here and now, and combine two functions at a time - broadcast an event and comment on it, e.g. broadcasts from space ships, sports events, television and radio broadcasts of significant political meetings and gatherings, and so on.

The impact of television upon radio is reflected above all in a greater selectivity on the part of the audience towards radio programmes. The majority of radio listeners choose the few programmes they are most interested in. Because of the wide spread of transistor radio sets, the audience listens to the radio individually, not as whole families, which is characteristic of TV viewing.

Radio has stood up to TV's competition in fast news coverage, and it has even surpassed TV in the amount of musical culture

broadcasted. Following the arrival of TV, some radio programmes began to specialize in narrower subject types and thus to focus on specific audiences, to concentrate on the development of radio's most typical kinds of broadcasting (information and music), and to increase broadcasting during hours when TV is less on the air.

The breakthrough of TV resulted in some changes in the coordination of mass media activities, in a redistribution of their functions.

Various Soviet scholars make a distinction between different functions of mass media: the ideological (i.e. that of propaganda or social control), informational (spreading of knowledge about reality), value-normative (or educational), and the cultural and entertaining functions.[5] These functions are requirements that society has placed on the mass media. At the same time, it is possible to distinguish requirements that the audience has placed on the mass media. According to Yu.A. Sherkovin, these functions consist in satisfying the demands and interests of the individual, of a socio-demographic group, getting a utilitarian effect (that is satisfaction with information, supporting the aims and values of a social group to which an individual belongs), strengthening position effect, interest in knowledge satisfaction, emotional effect, effect of comfort, and so forth.[6]

These psychological functions determine to a great extent the motives of mass media usage, which are based not only on the demands of the audience, but also on the audience's habits and orientation to the prestige of the medium. Notwithstanding the fact that television is the youngest mass medium (in our country it is just over 30 years), the audience's adaptation to TV was a fairly rapid and fluent process. The prestige of TV as a mass medium is extremely high. For many years newspapers and radio were traditionally regarded as primarily informational media, while television was viewed upon as a means of entertainment and recreation. Surveys conducted in recent years have shown that

although television is superior to the other two media in the satisfaction of recreation and aesthetic pleasure demands, "it is nevertheless an informational means in the true sense of the word, and not a means of entertainment of the masses".[7]

A decisive motive of people's attraction to TV is an ever growing demand of the Soviet people in socially valuable information on significant problems of modern life. The high socio-political activity of the Soviet people manifests itself in a heightened interest in the political life of our country and the world. Polls conducted in 1982-1983 in various regions of our country recorded that these subjects are of interest to approximately 92% of the recipients, and 87% of them consider TV the utmost means of political information.[8]

All-union broadcasts by Central TV, such as the daily informational programme "Vremja" (Time) and "Segodnja v mire" (Today in the world), are very popular among the audience. For example, 55%-70% of the adult population regularly watch "Vremja" and weekly informational analytical programmes such as "Studio 9" and "The international panorama".[9] Central TV has recently introduced new programmes under the headings "World and Youth" and "For teenagers and elder". It is worth mentioning that all of the local (republican, territorial and regional) TV centres as a rule televize their own informational and socio-political programmes. Television is highly regarded by Soviet viewers, thanks to the extensive coverage it gives to social problems, the perfection of socialist democracy, the international situation and the relations of the USSR with other states, national economy, living conditions and standards, the socialist way of life, science and culture, its efforts to promote peace.

The significance of television in Soviet society has grown considerably. Its participation in the process of social control manifests itself in various forms, and it is exercised in close connection with other traditional forms of social relations. The functions of TV communication are now expanding, and some

changes can be seen in the interrelation between television and other mass media.

Notes

[1]TV Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow (issue 3). Moscow, 1983, p. 194 (in Russian).

[2]Korobeinikov V.S. The Audience and the Editorial Board: Sociological Analysis. Moscow, 1983, p. 94.

[3]According to aucience research by Leningrad sociologists, 75% of the viewers watch TV practically every day, 17% watch it 3 or 4 times a week, 6% - 1 or 2 times a week, 1% - less than once a week, and only 1% of the Leningrad audience does not watch TV at all. See "Mass Communication in the Age of Scientific and Technological Revolution", Leningrad, 1981, p. 69.

[4]Nikolov E. Television and Other forms of Social Relations. In: Television Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow (issue 2). Moscow, 1982, p. 187 (in Russian).

[5]Afanasyev V.G. Social Information and Social Control. Moscow 1975, p. 383; Sherkovin Yu.A. Mass Informational Processes, Moscow, 1975, p. 178-179.

[6]Sherkovin Yu.A. op. cit.

[7]Mass Communication in the Age of Scientific and Technological Revolution. Leningrad, 1981, p.108.

[8]Schegortsev V.A. Mass Media and Political Culture of a Soviet Man. In: Experience and Perspectives of Concrete Sociological Research of Journalism. Moscow, 1984, p. 164.

[9]Experience and Perspectives of Concrete Sociological Research of Journalism. Moscow 1984, p. 108, 133.

Kauko Pietilä

PUBLICITY AND THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES
Preliminary suggestions for a research project

My purpose in this paper is to propose theoretical outlines for a research project which so far only exists as an idea. Provisionally the project has carried the name "Organization, publicity, and the articulation of interests".

The background of the proposition lies in an extensive research project on the class structure of Finnish society, which was published in 1984 (Luokkaprojekti: Suomalaiset luokkakuvassa, 1984). The project produced what one might call an 'objective' description of class structure in society. It was not concerned with questions of how social classes organize themselves, with the formation and organization of social (collective) subjects or agents in general, on a class basis, or in any other sense. It did not touch on the question of how social interests are articulated as politics - it did not research the connections between the societal (objective) class structure and politics.

These are all important questions for further research. The main problem is this: what kind of hegemony - or, as Jessop (1983) puts it, hegemonic or national project - will develop and how when the structure of society is objectively given as a definite class structure?

In a first suggestion for further research Raimo Blom, the leading figure of the project on class structure, wrote:

"One of the most important results of the comparative project on class structure (Luokkaprojekti 1984) was that it pointed to the crucial importance of understanding the changes in the structuration of publicity and also the content and form of today's publicity, because this would allow an assessment of the focal aspects of our hegemonic situation or, say, of the Finnish national project in President Koivisto's time. However, we found that there exist no overall studies along these lines. This is a

major breach in macrosocial theory and research - a breach which is relevant to the central fields of social inquiry, mass communication research, political science and administrative science."

Raimo Blom suggested that a new research programme be launched which would try to bridge the gap he had found in macrosocial inquiry. One of the central concepts defining this theoretical breach is that of publicity. Publicity is regarded as the key category that plays a mediating role between the societal class structure and societal hegemony. - It is no doubt necessary to produce some justification for the central position given to publicity.

Our starting point is that the structure of publicity - the public sphere of social life - has changed and that this change is closely related to the change in the structure of society in advanced industrial societies (Finland being a case in point).

Let Ernesto Laclau (1983, 43) describe the repercussions of the overall societal change on the formation of societal subjects or actors:

"In a traditional approach to the question of the subject, the latter is conceived primarily as a centered social agent whose identity is constituted around a set of well delineated 'interests', and moreover, there can be no fundamental contradiction between the subject's various positions in society. The idealism of modern philosophy's conception of a pre-constituted subject re-emerged in the conceptualization of social classes as historical subjects whose identity was constituted around transparent and fully defined interests. Needless to say, the notion of 'false consciousness' did not modify this formulation: it suggested that the subject misrecognized his/her interests, but it never allowed for the possibility that the constitution of the subject's identity took place on the basis of the articulation of changing and even contradictory positions. At the end of the day, and irrespective of how complicated the process of self-recognition was, every

social agent had an essential identity, dictated by an unequivocal location in the relations of production. This theory of the subject was shown to be inadequate not only by the psychoanalytical revolution, but also by the most elementary sociological observation. In the 19th century we notice a relatively rigid correlation between an agent's insertion in the relations of production and this agent's positions in a variety of other spheres - consumption, cultural life, political action, access to information. Today this unity has been dissolved, and the relative coherence existing between different positions of the same subject depend more and more on complex and variable politico-discursive artculations."

Laclau continues (p. 44): "The present difficulties of both Marxist theory and socialist political practice derive, to a large extent, from this increasing dissociation of social positions, which has dissolved the unity of those agents who have been the traditional subjects of social and political struggles. We can no longer see the 'people' or classes as the sole and self-evident protagonists of historical change."

As far as publicity is concerned, this same development has implied - assuming that Laclau has not made any big mistakes in his analysis - that publicity in general (that is, social transactions that are public in principle and in practice) or mass communication in particular does not only reflect a structuration of societal forces that would be given at the level of the relations of production. Rather, publicity or mass communication itself produces - as a politico-discursive articulation, to use Laclau's somewhat involute terminology - a structuration of societal forces that does not result directly from a more fundamental setting of societal forces, from for example the class structure.

In this sense it is possible to argue that the role of publicity has become more important in the formation of societal hegemony. Publicity, e.g. mass communication, takes part in this process with its own productive force. The main task of the

proposed research project is to investigate and clarify t
force.

But there is also another aspect to the problematics.
is characteristic of advanced industrial society that it
societal subjects, as unified social agents, that are gi
the level of relations of production, but what is given
variety of social positions and their mutual independenc
if the unity of societal subjects has to be constituted
basis of differentiated and independent social positions
there must be somewhere or somehow a sphere where the
differentiated and independent positions and the corresp
political-societal practices may come together and confr
meet one another. Our idea is that publicity, such as ma
communication, is such a sphere, and that it is this tha
constitutes its own independence vis-à-vis the rest of
society. That is, mass communication does not primarily
implement interests given from the outside (interests of
or the working class; or of the state or a military bloc
but its own 'interests'; and its own 'interest' is to b
field for different social positions to confront/meet on
another. - These ideas further emphasize the central rol
publicity in the formation of societal hegemony, which w
Blom's argument above: publicity is the very sphere wher
(hegemony) is constituted through the discursive confron
of differentiated social positions; the very sphere wher
societal unity exists as "a plurality of efforts of
unification which are always partial and precarious"
(Laclau, p. 39).

What I have said above means that we cannot study mas
as unidiscursive media (the prototype of a unidiscursive
medium is perhaps the political newspaper, whose voice i
voice of a particular political group or party and whose
is determined by the interests of a particular social cl
class fraction; the latter would explain the quality of
political argumentation, news criteria, style, etc.). Ra

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have to study mass media from the perspective of polyphony, even every single mass medium: they are media of many discourses, contradictory, devoid of basic unity - all there is in terms of unity is the polyphony of contents and the journalistic culture as the standard for the organization of society's many voices in the form of a journalistic polyphony.

This is, in a rough outline, our basic theoretical idea of the nature of modern publicity, of mass communication in particular. - Now, hegemony has been defined as the discourse of discourses (see Luokkaprojekti, p. 32). It is easy to see that societal hegemont is something produced in publicity, because publicity is alkso a discourse of discourses - or, at least, it can be considered as such in the way we have done above. Let us say: publicity is the formal aspect of hegemony; hegemony is the subject matter of publicity. It is exactly in this sense that - to quote Raimo Blom - it is so important to understand "the changes in the structuration of publicity and also the content and form of today's publicity, because this would allow an assessment of the focal aspects of our hegemonic situation or, say, of the Finnish national project in President Koivisto's time".

I have chosen to present some of the theoretical foundations and theoretical concepts of the proposed project that carries the provisional name "Organization, publicity, and the articulation of interests" for the simple reason that this is just about as far as we have advanced ourselves - to the basic theoretical groundwork. The question of empirical procedures for the solution of our research problems, the empirical mode of research is as yet an open question. What we do know is that the empirical focus of the project will be on laying bare the way in which societal subjects are constituted in publicity itself rather than produced through the effect of e.g. mass communication on the consciousness and activity of its recipients - constituted in the field of social forces strung up at the textual level of mass communication.

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V.D. Voinova

REALIZATION OF FEEDBACK PRINCIPLE IN THE MASS MEDIA

A distinctive feature of the Soviet mass media is their mass and national character. The press, radio and television, addressed to wide sections of the population, are a powerful means in the CPSU's effort to upbring the masses in the spirit of communism. The functioning of the mass media is based on the active participation of practically all strata of society in the process of information production. The Soviet mass media lean upon a social activity of the working masses, their collective experience, which is a historically established tradition initiated by V.I. Lenin.

The realization of feedback through mass media is a principle of governing whose basic precondition is informational interaction between governing and governed bodies. The press, radio and TV establish direct and feedback connections between governing bodies of various levels and the masses, not simply between a particular editorial board and an audience.[1] In the stream of information from the audience to newspapers, radio and TV, people express their wishes, give advice, etc. not only concerning the information being disseminated by these media, but also concerning information published by other means. At the same time, the mass media themselves are a kind of governing system with their own regularities, which reflect the requirements of a wider system.

Among various information flows from the audience to newspapers, radio and TV, letters to the editor are the largest and the most important category. V.I. Lenin considered correspondence to be a very important type of social documents; he called them "really human documents".[2]

Keeping these ideas of Lenin in mind, the CPSU constantly reminds editorial boards of the crucial importance of careful and thorough analysis of all editorial mail. The resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On Measures for Further

Improvement of Work with Letters and Suggestions of the Working People in Connection with the Decisions of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU" (1981), has underscored that "this is one of the most trustworthy and valuable sources of information about the needs and wishes of the working people in towns and villages, about the situation in different fields of socio-economic, political and spiritual life of our society, on of the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens".[3]

The editorial staff of newspapers, radio and TV regularly receive a great deal of letters - annually about 60 million.[4] Many interesting letters are published in central and regional newspapers and transmitted over the radio. For instance, during 1984 the editorial board of the central newspaper "Sovetskaya Rossia" (Soviet Russia) received 222,000 letters; more than 3,200 of them were published or led to business trips or interviews.[5]

This stands not only as evidence of the readers' and TV viewers' confidence in the mass media, but it is also a vivid manifestation of the fact that the Soviet people feel to be the real owners of the country, of the intention of Soviet citizens to participate actively in the formation of the public opinion, to influence the state on affairs in all fields of life. Thus editorial mail is a kind of barometer of public opinion, a rich source of up-to-date information.

A study of editorial mail gives a clear idea of the nature of the interaction between the public and editorial boards. It is also a way to identify the most active groups of the population and to see what kind of problems people are most interested in at any particular time. For instance, it has been found that representatives of various groups of society write to newspapers, radio and TV, although their socio-demographic structure is specific. Central, republican and local mass media regularly summarize information, work out reports, publish them in the newspapers, send them to party and state bodies. Automatic systems of letter processing based on a standard

method of analysis are used by a number of editorial boards.

On the basis of a sociological analysis of the working people's motivation to use mass media, the audience's letters can be classified into the following groups: letters which are directly or indirectly connected with the functioning of the mass media (reactions to definite materials) and letters which do not directly relate to the work of editorial boards. The second category of letters can be subdivided into two groups: letters of personal character (request of advice, assistance) or letters of social character (drawing the attention of the editorial board and the general public to some problems of common significance). For people who fall in the first category, the mass media represent a kind of link between them and the audience. Some of them believe that the audience shares their emotional experiences, their ideas and attitudes, which have been aroused by a press publication, a TV or radio broadcast. They also realize their intention to join thoughts and feeling of other people through their relations with the press, radio and TV.

The vast majority of the people who write in say they agree with the editorial board's position on certain problems; thus they are expressing their willingness and readiness to share feelings and opinions. This characterizes the attitude of these people to a mass media organ as a whole, which can probably be explained by their general confidence in and support of that organ. Our sociological data confirm this thesis: according to the correspondents themselves, the main reasons why they write to editorial boards are confidence in the information disseminated by newspapers, radio and TV, their general interest in the problem concerned - or to thank the boards for information published or broadcast.

The response that editorial boards are getting from the audience proves that they have succeeded in their task. The boards can also ask the audience to express their opinion, or invite them to take part in discussions, readers' conferences,

etc. The publication of readers' letters is an extremely efficient way of generatin feedback, since very often these letters prompt audience reactions in the form of new letters. By inspiring the audience to express their opinion, the newspaper regulates and channels feedback.

In some of the letters to mass media, people ask for advice in some personal or social problems. In most cases they are not so eager to have their letters published, but they expect the mass media to exercise the functions of other social institutions; for instance, they want a journalist to take up some issue or the editorial board to publish an official document. In this case the person who is writing in also understands the specifics of newspapers, radio and TV as social institutions. Any document released by an editorial board is regarded as a very authoritative channel of influence. It expresses the public opinion, and therefore the mass media have considerable influence on other social institutions. This is why they are referred to when people need support and assistance. Obviously some of the letters are beyond the competence of the editorial board, in which case they send them to the appropriate organization for decision-making. Here then, the mass media exercise only a control function and inform the letter-writers of the accepted measures.

According to the results of sociological studies the main reason why people write to editorial boards is that they get an answer very soon.

People who send wishes to editorial boards, requests for information, suggestions on new important subjects - the spokesmen of public opinion - represent more than half of all the readers, TV viewers and radio listeners who send in their letters to editors. These letters reflect people's interest in decisions about socio-economic, moral, ecological and other issues of importance to national development. They also reflect people's concern for social and state issues, they arouse the interest of the editorial staff, widen the range of

publications, make them more up-to-date, they bring in details, facts, suggestions and advice. Such letters of social character keep editorial boards well-informed about the problems which interest the audience, help them understand its needs more deeply.

Most of the letters in the public opinion category reflect the writer's appreciation of the prestige and possibilities of the mass media in raising significant problems, drawing the attention of specialists and the public, in eliminating shortcomings, in popularizing advanced methods of work, etc.

Mass media largely determine the character of editorial mail. The mass media have efficient ways to affect the audience which can reach readers, listeners or TV viewers even regardless of the wish of the communicator. This fact determines the particular importance of the analysis of editorial mail, which allows journalists to see what kind of letters the editorial board is encouraging and in what way.

It is not reasonable to encourage all kinds of letters, since the editorial board cannot deal with problems that are beyond its competence. One has to bear in mind that some members of the audience may have wrong ideas of the functions and tasks of the mass media. Additionally, there are letters which may be called dysfunctional, which will come in when the editorial board deals with issues of minor importance. In order to influence the audience efficiently, the mass media should carefully study the reasons for changes in the proportions of different kinds of letters. The quantitative increase in the amount of letters addressed to the mass media is accompanied by certain structural changes in the letters. For instance, an analysis of editorial mail to "Pravda"[6] shows that (1) letters initiated by state and Party decisions are increasing (25%-30% annually): people tend to express their personal support for plans and deeds, to give their views of how these decisions should be fulfilled; (2) there is a continuous growth in the number of letters written in response to newspaper reports (8-10%); (3) there has been an

increase in the share of new kind of letters: suggestions for the improvement of the functioning of state and management bodies, education of the younger generation, utilization of economic resources, etc.; 4. there has been a decrease in the number of so-called "complaint letters" concerning shortcomings, disputed matters at the plants and factories, the quality of goods, etc.

The prestige of newspapers, radio and TV depends to a great extent on how the audience's opinion is represented in newspapers, radio and telecasts, on how efficiently editorial mail is used for raising urgent questions, for conducting "days of open letters" in labour collectives, etc. The experience of some central newspapers and other mass media is that regular publication (or transmission) of people's opinions on internal or external issues, surveys of letters, comments on editorial mail by party, state and economic leaders effectively help to fulfill the principle of publicity and to solve urgent problems without delay.

For example, the most popular programmes on Soviet TV are dialogues: programmes in which the viewer takes an active part. The idea was introduced in Estonia with catching headings like "Thought in attack", and it inspired some other local TV-stations to try the same idea. Problems raised by the viewers are dealt with in a serial that usually runs for several months. Thousands of Estonians take part in this programme. They use special tear-off coupons to express their opinion about the problem, which is being discussed by experts and specialists step by step. These letters give the possibility to study the problem comprehensively and then contact the ministry or organization that can solve the problem. One such TV discussion, entitled "What kind of family service do we need?", led to the establishment of family problem centres in Tallin and Tartu, which have become very popular especially among young people.

The development of the democratic character of mass media is nowadays manifest in the increased number of different forms of

public initiative in the press, radio and TV. The specific forms of participation of various strata of the population in the work of editorial boards are different. The most popular are "not on regular staff departments", "public receptions", consultative councils, public editorial boards, readers' conferences, etc.

An analysis of the results of the functioning of all these formations convincingly shows that participation of the general public in the activity of editorial boards contributes to a higher quality and efficiency of other types of work. It is necessary to introduce such forms of public participation more widely, to extend the idea to radio and TV editorial boards.

Even now the range of direct influence of various strata of society on the functioning of the mass media is quite impressive. According to sociological research about 10% of the adult population of the country take part in the work of editorial boards of newspapers, radio and TV; they express wishes, criticism, constructive proposals, they inform of innovations, experience, they offer new headings, subjects and issues. Around 6 % of the population, that is more than 12 million people, write to the mass media.

Thus there exist all the preconditions in Soviet society for mass media to be a real tribune of public opinion.

The broad involvement of the population in mass activities of information is one of the fundamental tokens of the public character of Soviet mass media.

Notes

[1] Pronin, E.I. Press and Public Opinion, Moscow, 1971, p. 69.

[2] Memoirs about V.I. Lenin. Moscow, 1957, part 2, p. 699.

[3] "Communist", 1981, no. 6, p. 28.

[4] Korobeinikov, V.S. Editorial Board and the Audience, Moscow, 1983, p. 176.

[5] "Sovetskaya Rossia", 1985, January, 11.

[6] Tsukasov S.V. Time and maturity: Press of Developed Socialism and Its Efficiency.

[7] Distribution of the Press, 1980, no. 7, p. 7.

Marja Järvelä

URBANIZATION AND WOMEN IN WAGE EMPLOYMENT

In Finland, the growth of women's wage employment and urbanization have to a great extent been intertwined processes: the historical trends of female wage-labour and women's position as wage-earners have been determined by the development of the occupational structures of towns and cities.

The history of urban wage-labour in Finland goes back only a 100 years or so. In the late 19th century Helsinki and its industries were growing rapidly. This attracted a great deal of men from the surrounding districts, and by 1880 there were only 773 women to every one thousand men in the northern working-class areas of Helsinki. Women were for the most part engaged in domestic services in well-to-do families and in other personal service occupations; this is clear from population statistics indicating that at the end of the century, there were almost 1800 women to every one thousand men in the city's bourgeois districts. Female wage labour was thus firmly anchored in domestic services. By the end of the century, many of the men that had settled down in the northern parts of the town got married, and gradually the total number of women in Helsinki became more or less equal to that of men. (Waris 1973, 94-95)

Although women were represented only in relatively few occupations in Helsinki, it is nevertheless important to note that about half of the artisan providers[1] at the time were women. Most of them worked in bakeries and dressmaker's shops, where both working conditions and wages were particularly poor. Professor of Social Policy Heikki Waris has written a book on the history of the northern working-class areas of Helsinki. He describes the early years of female wage-labour thus:

"A country girl who had no schooling and who got herself a job in town in a dressmaker's shop would not have very high expectations, either with regard to life in general or to what she would make out of the job. She would find a cheap lodging in

a working family, and to begin with she could make ends meet with a very modest pay. And then, after a few years, she perhaps found herself a husband and set up a family, and continued to do some sewing at home for even less. But it was extra income, and all of it was necessary to keep up the family that was growing fast." (ibid., 116)

The picture that Waris draws shows vividly the reality of women's wage-labour in the late 19th century; a reality which in essential respects still applies today. First, the country girl coming to town was very humble, which has since been widely exploited in Finnish industry, e.g. in the postwar industrialization of peripheral regions. Second, we see that single rather than married women have been favoured by employers, in particular as far as full-time wage employment is concerned - which of course is in striking contrast to the position of men, who instead have been expected to be married. Third, it is assumed that women's career in wage employment will inevitably be interrupted or discontinued at some stage of their life. Even today this is one of the major arguments used to prove the inferiority of women as wage-labour. One obvious statistical consequence of this is that almost all part-time workers in Finland today are women (see Suomalaiset luokkakuvassa 1984, 188).

Finally, the above description suggests that if a married woman is to do wage-labour, it is best done at home. Given the new technological innovations and their applications, this traditional concept may well come back again in the very near future. But let us turn back to where we started: the historical roots of women's urban wage-labour in Finland.

The unmarried women as wage-earner

Female wage-labour in Finland was originally based on the labour reserve of unmarried women. However, the female population from which these reserves were drawn was not one that had settled down in the urban areas or that was going to remain unmarried for the rest of their lives. The working-class generation in particular emerged out of an inflow of migrants who were proletarian rural people, and it was this that guaranteed an ample supply of cheap female wage-labour for some time. On the other hand, there is also evidence that among upper class and upper middle-class women in Helsinki, there were many who refused to marry on reasons of principle: women in the vanguard of the women's liberation movement, giving priority to their career and the feminist ideology rather than to raising a family and doing housework (Jallinoja 1983, 79-89). It was these activists who shaped the profile of some middle-class occupations (such as teachers) in which women wage-earners have since played a major role.

Finland's second largest city Tampere is known above all for its industrial history. From the very outset the textile industry became a major employer in Tampere, which meant that it had a much larger female labour force than Helsinki. Hence it became known in the late 19th century as the "women's town" - which was not, of course, to say that women had occupied the town council, but that they were exploited by the industrialists.

In the early days of industrialization in 1855, women accounted for a high 70 per cent of the industrial labour force in Tampere. There was a slight downturn in the proportion of women over the following years, but up until the turn of the century women still represented the majority of industrial wage-labour. So for the latter half of the century, Tampere was a model example of urbanization linked with the exploitation of mobile and unqualified cheap female labour.

Additional support for this conclusion is provided by that

fact that the vast majority of the women engaged in industrial wage-labour in Tampere were unmarried, and throughout the period of industrial growth the share of unmarried women continued to increase. According to Antti Alanen and Pertti Haapala, it seems evident that even during the occasional periods of stagnation in the growth of the industrial labour force, the jobs of single women proved to be at least as stable as those of married women (Alanen & Haapala 1979, 35). Apparently the idea was to get the rural immigrants to join the labour force and then, after they had got married, to push them out again. The continuous inflow of migrants guaranteed that there were always fresh reserves to replace the generations that stayed at home to take care of the children and the household chores.

The path from rural migrant to wage-worker and finally housewive was not always smooth, however. The country girl who had moved into town and had no job or close relatives was helpless and alone. It is reported that of the women classified as prostitutes in the largest towns in the late 19th century, a great many were young daughters of proletarian rural families (Jaakkola 1983, 41). These women had often been in wage employment for some years before becoming prostitutes, but for most this was a very temporary stage in their life. Indeed, prostitution among industrial workers and domestic servants in Tampere was clearly separate from the more permanent, regular prostitution that had criminal connections. During periods of unemployment in particular, it is easy to see that prostitution among wage-workers was a direct consequence of their vulnerable social situation. Thus the once humble unmarried country girl became bittered and humiliated. The first-generation urban wage-earners were exploited with little social restraints.

Meanwhile, voluntary celibacy began to gain currency mainly in Helsinki among middle-class and upper-class women, who thus hoped to achieve greater occupational independence and to promote their emancipatory ideas. Although some of them eventually married celebrated intellectuals of the time, they

did to a certain extent succeed in breaking the patriarchal order of the intelligentsia.

Working-class wage-earner women, on their part, saw no emancipatory perspectives in an independent development of female wage-labour, but were forced to submission under a double structure of patriarchal subordination. On the one hand, social emancipation of the working-class family would be possible only through a liberation of the male worker and only if he managed to seize political power. The other patriarchal structure was based on the social division of labour in industry, which gave priority to masculine strength and skills and relegated female labour to a secondary status. So for the women who had moved in from the country, a double patriarchal structure replaced the traditional agrarian structure where there had been a more direct link between subordination and the total community consisting of kinship and the village.

It is important to note that, unlike the majority of postwar migrants who were daughters of independent peasants, a great many of the migrants at the turn of the century were daughters of proletarian families. Obviously coming into town did not for them signify a general proletarianization of their social position, even though the struggle for existence in the town was sometimes very harsh.

Married women as 'dependent' members of families

For first-generation wage-workers, marriage has throughout history been the most effective means of adaptation to city life. For women working in factories or artisans' shops in particular, marriage was often a turning point in their life. They were no longer self-dependent and self-supportive but became 'dependent' members of the family. Heikki Waris draws his conclusions concerning the formation of worker communities in Helsinki with patriarchal discretion:

"From a social point of view this distinction between

breadwinners and dependents is very important. It is the first criterion for social distinction. However, it is still not adequate, because even the mother of the family, who assumes responsibility for the home, for bringing up the children and for a variety of household chores, will be classified as a dependent. And yet the standard of living of a great many families depends at least as much on the mother at home as it does on the father who is in wage employment." (Waris 1973, 106)

To gain a deeper understanding of the social basis of female wage-labour today, it is necessary to examine the early development of industrialization in major Finnish towns. To start with, it is much easier to see the social choices that in those days were involved in a decision to seek for wage employment than in today's society. The first criterion or precondition was that the woman applicant must not be married; a criterion that indeed was surprisingly important, although it was applied differently to women of different social classes. Domestic servants were incorporated in the employer families as some sort of secondary family members. Married women could not work in factory jobs because they often had many children and because of the poor working conditions. In artisan jobs, the obstacles were largely similar for married women, although on the other hand they could often do sewing work at home. Highly qualified middle-class women tended to pursue an independent career, and often refused to marry in order to maintain their position on the job market: for example, in one girls' school in Helsinki in 1969-1919, 61 % of the female teachers were unmarried (Jallinoja 1983, 87).

In spite of the comparatively rapid growth of female wage-labour during the early years of industrialization, the majority of women living in cities became dependent wives. Consequently, the wage-work of married women, insofar as it existed, developed a specific nature of social instrumentality: the task of the women was to earn something on top of the husband's wages. On the reverse side, women's identification to

their occupation was often very superficial, which has followed women and female wage-labour to this very day. The idea is that women carry some sort of universal trait that necessarily relegates them to a secondary status in work life.

The supplementary and secondary nature of women's wage-work has also been accentuated by the variety of jobs and occupations available to women. The jobs that women were mostly engaged in during the process of urbanization were as if extensions to domestic work; women were and are overrepresented in the textile industry, food production, social and medical care work, education, etc.

Although there was a superficial resemblance between the tasks that women did at work and at home, the fact is that in the early days of urbanization, the choice women had to make between wage employment and setting up a family was going to make a great difference. If a young unmarried woman was unemployed even temporarily, she soon became a 'social problem': a recipient of poor relief or a prostitute. Unlike today, the school system had a very limited capacity to absorb women, and those who did get in were for the most part upper-class women. In a sense, these privileged educated women were the first buds of an ideal wage-labour society where the choice of both occupation and partner is free, irrespective of gender. (It should be added that the perspective of an ideal wage-labour society is understood here as an ideal type rather than as a social programme or utopian concept, which it was at least for some of the emancipatory women.)

Wage employment of women in postwar Finland

From a methodological point of view women's wage employment in Finland could be examined at two levels within the historical framework of the turn of the century. At the first level, starting from the development of the industrial structure in each town, the analysis would focus on the structure and

characteristic features of wage employment in the established industrial centres. At the second level, focus would be on the industrial areas that have grown up in the postwar period. These semiurban towns repeat perhaps most clearly the trends in development that were typical of the first stage of industrialization in the more traditional industrial centres, despite the major changes that have taken place in education, social security, and other fields of social life and that have clearly made the choice for women between wage-work and family life less drastic. Further, it is important to bear in mind that the sharp decrease in the number of children in families (including working-class families) has made it easier for women to enter the labour market. However, these trends in modern society have first and foremost changed the social situation of women in the established urban centres, whereas women in the peripheral semiurban districts still tend to be something of a labour reserve with modest pay.

Although it would be most interesting to see to what extent the original features of female wage-labour have followed women from the turn of the century to modern peripheral towns, we must leave this question at this juncture and turn to the main features of women's wage employment in the biggest cities of Finland.

A total of 80 per cent of women aged 25 to 54 are today in wage employment in Helsinki. At the same time, the occupational structure is highly polarized. Largely as a consequence of urban development, there has been a considerable increase in the number of jobs in the service sector during the postwar era, and now the demand for female labour power has reached an unprecedented level.

As regards the development in the country as a whole, a second period of rapid growth of female wage employment can be distinguished from the 1960s up to the 1980s (Jallinoja 1980, 231). It is interesting to note that during the first half of the century and even up to the sixties, there were no marked

changes in the proportion of economically active women: throughout this period they amounted to about half of the female population. However, at around 1960, this was fairly high in international comparison. This is of great importance in our following analyses of the social significance of the second of period of growth of wage employment, which coincided with the late but rapid process of industrialization in Finland in the 1960s and 70s.

A vast number of migrants have moved into Helsinki and its surrounding regions over the past few decades, many of whom have come from small farms in the rural parts of the country that no longer have provided a living. The urban occupational structure of Helsinki has been particularly attractive to women, who today form the majority of the economically active population in the capital. However, the balance in Helsinki does not differ significantly from that in other parts of the country.

In all, it may be concluded that rapid urbanization has been conducive to the growth of women's rather than men's wage employment, as a consequence of which the proportion of women in the Finnish labour force is slightly larger than in other Scandinavian countries. In 1980, the proportion of women in the economically active population was as high as 47 per cent.

One important indication of the intertwining of the growth of female wage-labour and the growth of major cities is that Helsinki has the highest proportion of female labour in Finland: 53 % of the labour force are women, whereas men are overrepresented among the workers who are unemployed. In the cities adjacent to Helsinki, men and women are more or less equally represented in the labour force, but among the unemployed there are much more women than men. Thus in these areas women still seem to bear their traditional role of a labour reserve.

However, it must be added that these differences as well as those between Helsinki and the national averages for urban regions are marginal. It is therefore reasonable to draw the

general conclusion that, in a purely quantitative sense, the traditional division of wage-labour where men are the primary and women the secondary labour power is no longer valid. Men and women now play a more or less equally important role in wage-labour, and the development of the occupational structure in urban areas would seem to favour the further growth of women's rather than men's wage employment.

The subordination of wage-worker women and paths of urbanization

Although statistics suggest that there have been important changes in the position of women in wage-labour as a result of industrialization and urbanization, it is often argued in studies of the social situation of women that they still hold a secondary position. Since there is no quantitative evidence in support of this argument, it is necessary to turn to the quality of work, i.e. the social division of labour between the genders. On the one hand, the differentiation of the occupational structure into men's jobs and women's jobs has until this very day guaranteed a definition of women's work as peripheral and secondary. Even women with high qualifications are for the most part engaged in the traditional tasks of social reproduction, such as education and medical and social care, but very rarely in the core fields of production. On the other hand, the class structure is also highly differentiated by gender. At the individual level women are less often in jobs with decision-making authority and in management tasks. Recent studies of social class where classes are not defined according the traditional blue-collar/white-collar distinction, but where the working class is understood as comprising all wage-workers without managerial or supervisory functions or without autonomy in the performance of everyday tasks, women form the clear majority of the working class. On the other hand, the majority (54 %) of economically active women belong to the working class (Blom 1982, 22).

To specify this information in the context of urbanization, let us return to the two major Finnish cities we have been examining, Helsinki and Tampere. As was noted earlier, the starting points of the two cities were different: in Tampere, the majority of the industrial labour force were women (which as such was exceptional), whereas in Helsinki the structure of wage-labour was more balanced. The later development in Helsinki gave further impetus to social changes that made women's wage-labour even more visible and significant in the metropolis, where the supply of various services increased rapidly.

The main purpose of our comparison is to see whether today's 'women's town' of Helsinki differs in any essential respects from Tampere as a 'women's town' at the end of the 19th century. Another question we hope to answer is whether Tampere's historical traditions of female wage-labour are reflected in contemporary women's wage-labour.

As was noted above, men and women are now more or less equally represented in the labour forces of major Finnish towns, although in the suburbs there are more obstacles to women's wage employment than in the city centres. So urbanization, where it has advanced to its current ultimate level, has dissolved the traditional basis upon which women are defined as a labour reserve and as secondary labour power. But what kind of a sociological interpretation could be given to this statistical equality?

To begin with, two perspectives must be noted that have an important effect not only on the social situation of women, but also on the entire process of social reproduction. The first is a perspective of an ideal wage-worker society, i.e. some sort of a point of culmination where every individual, man or woman, could choose his or her own social position in a competitive situation. On the other hand, it seems that the development of the gender-differentiated occupational structure places women at an advantage over men, at least if we keep to mere employment statistics. If these two perspectives of urbanization and

increased equality between the genders materialize in the future, we apparently will have two social alternatives.

First, there might be a thorough reorganization of society's reproductive system so that the double structure of patriarchal subordination of women will be dissolved with the further progress of urbanization. Alternative number two is that the further growth of women's wage employment only leads to more effective exploitation of both wage-work and housework done by women, and hence to a repeated double subordination of women through a patriarchal order and class structure. To pave the way to further discussions on the issue, the following gives some statistical data - which admittedly raises further questions rather than provides straightforward answers.

As we know, large and complex organizations and dynamic business enterprises are based in large cities. Statistical evidence proves that the majority of entrepreneurs and company managers are men: in Finland, two thirds of all entrepreneurs are men and two thirds of managerial clerical employees are men. However, even these figures do not yet give a full picture of the role of gender and the subordination of women in the hierarchic organizations of cities, where managerial authority other than that based on ownership of the means of production has become at least as important a source of power as actual ownership of the means of production. In the subgroup of senior officials and upper management under the group of clerical workers in administrative, managerial, professional or related tasks, 85 % of the positions in both the private and public sector are held by men. At closer inspection, it is found that in large organizations the share of women decreases steadily towards levels of higher authority. And further, if we look at the micro-world of workshops or even offices, the majority of immediate supervisors are men. Finally, among lower-level employees with administrative and clerical tasks, 75 per cent of supervisory office holders are men.

In Tampere, where women have traditionally been in

low-qualification non-managerial jobs in major industries, their position in the hierarchy has been extremely poor, despite the high level of urbanization. In the group of senior officials and upper management, only 14 per cent of the employees are women; in the group of senior officials and employees in research and planning, 16 per cent are women. In Helsinki, the respective figures are 36 and 40 per cent, which means that there is a difference of roughly 20 per cent between the two cities, both in the private and public sector.[2] A similar situation is found in the group of lower employees with administrative and clerical tasks: women have supervisory authority much more often in Helsinki than in Tampere.

The above statistical data raise some questions that would require a closer scrutiny in order that we could better understand the interconnections of urbanization and women's wage-labour. Presuming that the trends in Helsinki tell us something about the development of women's social situation in relation to a high level of urbanization, then we may conclude that the emancipation of women through wage-labour is structurally tied to the process of urbanization and that a still higher level of urbanization may create social conditions that make the social position of women even more outstanding and important. On the other hand, if the current situation of female wage-labour in Tampere is merely a reflection of historical backwardness, then we have to ask what is the main cause of the differences in women's position in these two cities. Could it be the different histories of the cities: that one is a traditional industrial centre that employs heavily exploited female labour power in low-qualification jobs, the other an administrative centre with a strong service sector which has given a more variegated start to female wage employment to begin with? Could it be that the original structures of class positions still have a direct bearing on the development of women's wage employment in the two cities today?

Notes

[1]'Artisan' is used here in a somewhat unusual way: the statistics that Waris used tended to define 'artisans' as people engaged in wage-labour where only little machinery was involved. Thus his main criteria in making a distinction between industrial workers and artisans has been based on the type of workplace and level of technology rather than skill requirements or entrepreneurship.

[2]The differences between the two cities in the proportions of women in the group of senior officials and upper management and in the group of senior officials and employees in research and planning were significant enough to raise suspicions that the criteria originally adopted in classification had been different. I have later come across national statistical information suggesting that this must have been the case. It seems clear that, as compared with this new information (provided by the Central Statistical Office of Finland under the name 'ALTIKA'), my sources have overestimated the proportion of women in upper management and in other high wage-earner statuses. However, this does not reverse the results of the comparisons: it only shows that the difference between the two cities was much smaller in the group of highest overall management, but still significant in the group of specialized advisory management and in the group of senior officials in research and planning.

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I.V Ladodo

GROWTH OF INFORMATIONAL NEEDS OF THE SOVIET MASS MEDIA AUDIENCE

Technological progress in the development of mass media has led to a constant increase in the speed of delivery and also in the volume of information to the audience. This makes mass media a necessary component of social existence, a source of information which to a growing extent moulds the individual's judgements, opinions, and knowledge about the surrounding world and determines his conduct in different social situations.

The significance of the press, radio and television and their influence, which is determined by quantitative indices of their development and by the time people spend using them, explains the great interest of researchers in the principles of information dissemination, in the practice of selecting and presenting information and in the conditions promoting its effectiveness.

The principles and practice of informing the audience used by the Soviet mass media are determined by the function of moulding an active, harmonious personality (according to the ideals of socialist society), of bringing up good citizens, responsible for their deeds, feeling themselves real owners of the country, able to comprehend the whole variety of phenomena of the surrounding reality. The mass media serve to fulfill tasks of shaping a well-informed individual who is able to formulate and express estimations of public opinion.

This explains the attention given by researchers to the realm of the informational process, whose qualitative perfection is the major preoccupation of all workers of the mass media.

There are a number of reasons that make the perfection of this process necessary. First, there is the task of realizing the basic principle of Soviet mass media in practical work - the principle of equality and full availability of mass information to all social categories of the population of the Soviet Union. The fulfillment of this principle is made possible by the

creation of a powerful system of mass media supplied with modern equipment.

According to data collected by the Central Statistical Board of the USSR, the number of radio and television sets in the Soviet Union increased during the period 1960-1983 fourfold and reached 249.855 million. In rural districts the increase was from 26.611 million to 69.598 million.

The first national network of cosmic television, which uses ground retransmission stations and communication satellites and which reaches distant regions in the North and Far East, Middle Asia and Siberia, is created in the Soviet Union.

It should be noted that the mere existence of a mass media system and the continuous development of this system is not a guarantee of its effectiveness; experience has shown that this does not guarantee the audience will be satisfied with the quantity and quality of available information. It is only a precondition which makes possible the realization of the tasks entrusted to the mass media. But this precondition is crucially important. A number of surveys of the effectiveness of the mass media suggest that:

- the audience of the press, radio and television includes the overwhelming majority of the country's population, that is 99.3% of adults aged 18 or over in an average town and 95.5% of the population of the rural regions of the country;
- the population uses different channels of mass media actively; it is impossible to determine "pure" press, radio or TV audiences;
- the audience spends a considerable part of its time using mass media - 30% to 50% of their free time.

The question of the perfection of the process of communication is put on the agenda because of the characteristics of the time we are living in; because of the complications of the political situation in the world; the broadening and deepening of democracy in Soviet society; and the involvement of the working masses in the government of the

country. The cognitive interests of the individual increase under these conditions, new objects enter the sphere of his life experience. He needs a basic orientation on the basis of which he can estimate complex phenomena, find grounds for choosing of a definite attitude, for forecast phenomena and events.

The need for improving the provision of information is confirmed by findings of a number of sociological studies which have recorded elements of the audience's dissatisfaction with the volume and some aspects of the content of the information supplied.

While the number of periodical publications is growing, the speed of their delivery is accelerating, new TV and broadcast centres are being put into operation, and the quality of TV and radio programmes is improving, the demand for extra information is in the end determined above all by the characteristics of the mass media audience.

Sociological studies have shown that the most significant characteristic that determines the peculiarities of an audience, its interests and judgements, its activity in the search for information about urgent problems of today, and even the choice of one or another means of information, is its the educational level.

Accordingly, the dissatisfaction of the audience, regarded as a consequence of increased demands of the people for the work of Soviet mass media, results from a constant rise in the level of culture and education of the mass media audience.

All-union and regional polls aiming to map the attitudes of the population towards the press, radio and television have indicated that the audience's interests and demands are very extensive. On the basis of the results of these polls it is possible to pick out some ten leading subjects are most interested in. Problems of international relations rank first, followed by problems of moral and education, and problems of personality and national development.[2] It is obvious from these results that there is a clear correlation between the

audience's interests and the inclusion of the individual into the system of mass media.

That the Soviet people are thirsting for information is confirmed by their real behaviour. It is manifest in the actual consumption of press, radio and television information by separate groups of newspaper readers, the audience of the mass media as a whole, and has been revealed by an analysis of self-estimations by the audience of the consumption of information on general subject sections.[3]

It is possible that to a certain extent, the constant feelings of a deficit of information arise from shortcomings in the organization of the process of information transmission. These shortcomings are in turn due to different reasons and principles of the selection of information.

Findings of a number of studies prove the existence of these shortcomings and show the critical attitude of the audience to the work of some national media on account of their insufficient operativeness, the narrow scope of problems considered, inadequate professional standards among mass media workers, which in turn prevents them from using the full potential of mass communication, etc. In addition, reference is made to the discrepancies between the audience's interests and the programmes and materials provided by the mass media.

While all these shortcomings are recognized and accepted, even this does not mean that an "ideal" organization of the process could be reached. It might require an increase in the operativeness of information transmission, treatment by the mass media of an unlimited scope of problems and subjecs, or a constant increase in the volume of information offered by the mass media. All this cannot be done, however, because the information transmitted by the mass media is always selected in accorcance with given aims, and the perception and adoption of this information is mediated by a complex of factors, ranging from the individual's psychological peculiarities and personal characteristics to the time used in the consumption of mass

media.

Information transmitted through the press, radio and television does not reach the individual directly, but passes through his personal experience, his knowledge about the world. This information cannot be the sole source and basis of the individual's orientation to the surrounding world. It always correlates with so-called "everyday thinking", which is formed by everyday experience.

In addition, the individual's and the mass media audience's need for information arises from a discrepancy between the contents of mass media information and the conclusions that the audience draws on the basis of its life experience, its "manner of thinking and reasoning about public affairs and problems"[4].

Studies of Soviet mass media emphasize the homogeneity of their audience, which is based on the socialist form of ownership of the means of production and which is reflected in the rapprochement of the working class, collecive farmers and the intelligentsia, and also in a gradual overcoming of substantial differences between mental work and physical labour, etc.[5] This distinctive feature of the audience allows a certain unification of the methods and forms of informational influence, its contents, makes the information process more controlled, and its results to some extent scientifically predictable.

However, since the life and practical experience of the individual is a "refracted prism", it is not possible to regard the audience of mass media as indivisible and homogenous. As V.I. Lenin pointed out, it is necessary to address information to a certain "social type" to guarantee the effectiveness of the information process; it is necessary to take into account the peculiarities of various groups of society, to find out how, through what information channels and with what effects information is being disseminated to various social groups - this gives the researcher an idea of the practical potential of

the mass media and hence a basis for forecasting the effectiveness of mass media.

Information transmitted by the mass media is by definition addressed to masses, to the "average" reader, listener or viewer. It is therefore impossible to take full account of differences in motives, aims in the utilization of mass media, readiness for apprehension of specific types of information, etc. This is the primary source of the audience's want for information, a result of the specific features of the intercourse that determine the individual's demands on the contents of mass media. The discrepancy between the needs and interests of part of the audience and the information actually offered by the mass media can in some cases lead to a decreased efficiency of mass media information, diminishing the frequency of usage of traditional information channels and sometimes even to a so-called "cognitive passiveness", to indifference. A careful analysis of the nature of this phenomenon is undoubtedly a major precondition for strengthening the role of mass media in society.

Notes

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E.G. Meshkova

SOCIAL INTERACTION BY MEANS OF MASS MEDIA

Mass media fulfill a number of functions in society. We shall look into one of them, namely the function of social control and management. This function is realized through the formation of public opinion and the organization of the activity of the masses. At the same time, mass media and public opinion are intertwined; as Karl Marx noted, "The 'free press', being the product of public opinion, is also the creator of public opinion"[1].

One of the most significant problems of mass media activity in Soviet society is the propagation of the socialist way of life and its socio-humanistic values.

Changes in the basic sphere of life, in the sphere of labour, in the mode of production also influence other spheres of vital activity; they form and strengthen the Soviet people's personal qualities.

The way of life of Soviet society, with its real conditions for universal access to education, establishes and broadens the mass media audience.

The mass media propagate the socialist way of life by describing the participation of the working people in the work of Soviet, trade-union, Young Communist League and other public organizations, which are some sort of management schools. They show the labourous character of the socialist way of life and the participation of everyone in its perfection.

It is important that everyone in society should realize the essence and the meaning of the problems that need to be solved, feel responsible for the deeds of his fellow-workers, his country. The better people are informed, the more consciously they act, the more actively they support the party, its plans and strategic goals - as was noted at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in March, 1985.

Mass media (whose audience comprises 98 per cent of the

Soviet adult population)[2] not only inform the population about urgent issues, but also give readers, listeners and viewers the possibility to exchange viewpoints on a large scale.

Forming public opinion, the mass media create a specific informational sphere. At the same time, the mass media are a means of ideological and cultural influence, and also one of the most specific forms of social government. The way by which this effect is reached is as follows: mass media reproduce the model of public life in the form of a flow of information. In Soviet society, the press is the most important institution of socialist democracy, a means of popular participation in the discussion of major questions, in the formation of public opinion.[3]

Mass media are an efficient means in the strengthening of people's social and labour activity. The idea of perfecting developed socialism underlies not only the theory, propaganda and practical work towards the formation of a new social man. The basic strategy of the mass media is to propagate experiences in the perfection of the way of life and to to participate in the settling of questions of management both on a work collective level and at the level of the state.

For instance, when public attention was focused on the strengthening of discipline, the mass media started an information campaign on these topics. The readers' and the whole audience's responses, the upsurge of public activity was unanimous. The perfection of the Soviet way of life - according to the people's opinion - can only be accomplished if everyone participates in the effort.[4] A similar unanimity was expressed by the public during the all-union discussion of the Draft Law of the USSR on Labour Collectives.

The function of the mass media - that of social control and management - is realized by the formation of public opinion and in management of people's actions.

The methodological basis for this subdivision of functions lies in V.I. Lenin's ideas of the role of press in a society:

"The role of newspaper cannot be restricted to mere diffusion of ideas, only political education and drawing in political allies. The newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, but also a collective organizer"[5].

The mass media tend to organize the public opinion of their audience. They promote the organization and direct the actions of their audience. But the mechanism, aims and methods of formation of public opinion as well as its contents are determined by the social environment in which the mass media operate.

In the formation of public opinion, the mass media at the same time form definite needs. On the one hand, the mass media help people to see these needs more clearly, on the other hand they help the individual in working out initial positions, psychological aims, concerning these requirements. And last but not least, the mass media may raise in the individual's consciousness the value of these needs and thus enhance practical efforts to satisfy these needs.

In some cases, public opinion, as expressed by the mass media and various channels of feed-back, can perform the function of social management. Thus, in a referendum the act of stating people's will is final and exerts normative influence on social processes and relations.

Mass media are means of realizing a single process of diffusing ideas, doctrines, theories, socially significant information, of cultivating social feelings and habits.

One of the most important tasks of the mass media system in moulding public opinion is to enhance the level of consciousness of the masses so as to further the understanding and acceptance of the real public interests as a motive of behaviour.

The press, radio and television constantly influence millions of people, mould public opinion, supply Soviet people with the invincible weapon of historical truth, help them understand the laws and perspectives of the development of Soviet society, and mobilize the working people into the fulfillment of strategic

tasks.

The Soviet man is now more educated and socially active than ever before. Therefore he is also very conscious about the methods and ways of information. transmission.

One of the most effective means available to the mass media for transforming social interests into individual (group) interests is to attract the reader's, listener's - the audience's interests, the meaning of which for the given trend of moulding public opinion is generally established. It is only by appealing to the interests of the audience that one can expect to broaden the audience's political views and mental outlook, to mould people's views in a direction that coincides with social interests. The role of the mass media as an effective instrument in economic management, social processes and in the moulding of a new man is increasingly important.

Informing the masses as fully as possible enhances the initiative of the working people. This is an expressive indicator of the wide democracy of the socialist state.

Noting the importance of this statement, political state and public organizations are constantly searching for and using new effective means to inform the masses.

Among these new methods are regular meetings of the leaders of labour collectives, deputies and electors, where the latter pass on the mandate and the former render an account to their voters.

Mass media are the major source of information for the population, especially political information. For instance, the results of a survey conducted in the city of Taganrog show that over 80 per cent of the respondents received information through the mass media. All other channels lag far behind: 5 % receive information from discussions with fellow-workers and friends, and 14% from relatives.[6]

The mass media pick out and disseminate only socially significant information; information that promotes social development. It must be noted that it is not information per se

that promotes development, but the recipients are supposed to translate the information into action, to improve the forms of management of production and state affairs.

A number of amendments, offers and ideas suggested through the mass media were accepted in the preparation of important documents of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Suggestions that were taken into account included Pravda's publications concerning the improvement of the management of regional agro-indusrial complexes; "Izvestia's" suggestions concerning the production of consumer goods; "Trud's" suggestions concerning worker participation in production management.[7] In Georgia, for example, surveys by the local newspapers are handed of for consideration by the head staff of the republic.[8]

What is also vitally important for the effective work of mass media is a carefully organized mechanism of feedback. Its channels are: receiving versatile information from party and state, trade-union, Young Communist League bodies, meetings with readers and TV viewers, televised dialogues and conferences, broadcast exchange of messages, "open letter" days, and regular personal contacts with workers and rural correspondents.

When editorial boards are well-informed and aware about the problems that the government and public organizations are tackling, the publications are more exact and efficient; their influence is more appreciable.

Thus, the Voronezh regional party committee holds every two months press conferences where major local questions are discussed.[9] In Belorussia press surveys are put into practice. In Moldavian schools for young journalists, probation of young correspondents from local newspapers, radio, TV boards in regional editorial boards, have proved useful.[10]

The continuous increase in the amount of editorial mail shows that the ties between the audience and the mass media are particularly close.[11] The audience of mass media is formed mainly through the contents of messages. Separate channels are

differently appreciated by the recipients. Most consider newspapers to provide the most objective information and to be a more effective means of influence on reality than radio and TV.[12]

The central role of newspapers was also confirmed by a study carried out in 1980 in Moscow, according to which every third family reads practically all the materials published in the newspapers. 40 per cent read the majority of the materials, and every seventh reads half of the publications.[13]

People's attitude towards newspapers is indicative of the ability of newspapers to influence other institutions. It is important that the form of the presentation of information in newspapers allows everyone to use the newspaper publications for storage, re-usage of them, sending them to definite persons and institutions.

The distinctive feature of Soviet mass media is that their audience consists of people who have similar views on major issues, who see the reality from the same class perspective, who are socially active.

The mass media deal with problems of building a new society, with problems of the development of the productive forces. They bring unsolved problems into public discussion, they strive to work out a stereotype of thinking where the problems and tasks of the country are regarded as personal ones.

Data on the contacts of the population with different channels of mass media give the newspapers, radio and TV editorial boards an idea of the audience's specific character. This, in turn, enables these boards to be more matter-of-fact in socially addressing their message.

One can say then that the mass media, in the process of communicating social information of public interest, help to work out habits of managerial activity. They are a kind of landmark of action, directing people's thoughts and deeds so as to promote the cause of socialist society.

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